

The South African Outlook

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The South African Outlook

For if man has known the stars, so God has known the dust.

—Sheila Kaye-Smith.

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African Leaders in Conference

In this issue we reproduce the text of the resolution unanimously taken by the Conference of African leaders held at Bloemfontein last month under the auspices of the Inter-denominational Federation of African Ministers. The Conference was very representative of many sides of African opinion, so that the unanimous voice of the 394 delegates and observers cannot be brushed aside. We trust the Government will give the findings serious consideration. The Conference was all the more notable because of the seriousness and obvious sense of responsibility which marked it. So often gathering met to consider political matters become noisy and out of control but these features were notably absent on this occasion. One or two of the speeches were one-sided and extreme but in general the addresses were factual, reasonable and conciliatory. It deserves to be emphasized that the "total rejection of the Tomlinson Report" featured in so many newspaper headlines referred not to the emphasis in the Report that a vast scheme of rehabilitation in the Reserves should be undertaken, but to the main contention that only by *apartheid*, towards which rehabilitation would be a first step, could Western civilization in South Africa be saved. Mr. Selby Ngcobo, speaking on the purely economic aspect, admitted: "Much of the economic reasoning in the Report is sound and their conclusions worthy of respect. Economically speaking many of the proposals made by the Commission would, if carried out, raise

productivity, create wider employment opportunities, raise income and wealth and living standards." The final resolution plainly declares that the general development of the Reserves is sound policy.

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It has been emphasized again and again by the Commission and others that the support of the African people must be enlisted if the schemes envisaged by the Tomlinson Report are to come to fruition. Without Bantu understanding and their active and willing co-operation the plan as a whole must fail. The recent Conference has made plain that no plan for the racial division of South Africa will have the support of the African people. The Conference stated plainly that the Bantu feel they have contributed to the development of South Africa, that they have a stake in the country, and that they cannot for ever be treated as a people apart. They have co-operated with the White race in the past, and they wish this co-operation to continue in the future. The Conference brought no victory to the extremists of Bantu nationalism with their cry, "Africa for Africans." Although it is clear that much of the legislation of recent years, along with the harsh methods of the present Native Affairs Department, have caused the iron to enter the soul, the hand of co-operation is still held out. We see no possibility of the co-operation of the African people being obtained unless the present flood of repressive legislation and dictatorial methods is turned back. To effect this may mean the sacrifice on the part of Government of cherished ways—and also of personnel—but the gain would be worth the price.

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Congregational Union Assembly

The Congregational Union of South Africa held its Annual Assembly at Uitenhage from 17th to 24th October under the chairmanship of the Rev. Albert Mead. Under the guidance of the Public Questions Department the Assembly resolved:

1. To protest most strongly against the growing tendency on the part of Government departments and officials to treat the African and Coloured people as if they were something other than human beings. We would strongly emphasise the Christian doctrine of the individual worth of man and urge upon all Ministers of State that consideration be shown at all times to basic human values in regard to all sections of our population and that regard

be shown to the feelings and dignity of the individual.

2. To express concern that the Pass System which we have consistently opposed as lowering the dignity of the individual, has now been extended to African women. We cannot but regard this as a retrograde step and feel that sufficient consideration has not been given to the deep hurt and fear this is causing throughout the African community. We would urge the Minister to give urgent attention to a review of this matter.

3. To deprecate in the strongest terms the break up in African family life in urban areas such as the Western Cape, by the enforced return to the territories and reserves of many African women and the refusal to allow permits to them to continue to live with their husbands and families at the centres of their work, and in many instances in areas where they have lived a settled existence for many years.

4. To urge upon the Government that reconsideration be given to what we regard as a dangerous principle whereby the normal processes of the law and access to the Courts are denied to certain individuals against whom the Government or individual Ministers may have decided to act. We regard it as a basic principle of justice that this traditional democratic right should be preserved.

5. To re-affirm our conviction that the policy of apartheid with its implementation in many spheres of African and Coloured life, with its discrimination against groups and individuals, with its denial of basic human values and rights and its harsh and impersonal treatment of individuals as if they were mere ciphers, is not in accord with the mind and spirit of Jesus Christ.

The Assembly further agreed to "reaffirm our opposition to the Group Areas Act and to protest against proposals in certain areas which will involve wholesale upheaval and disruption in the life of Coloured and African people." Special reference was made to schemes proposed for Albertsville, Vrededorp and Fordsburg. The delegates also decided to urge the Group Areas Board, which is to meet in Port Elizabeth soon, to "reject any proposal which will bring hardship and suffering to the non-White population of this area." They appealed to the Board to use the power vested in it "to recommend to the Minister of the Interior the inadvisability of applying the provisions to the Port Elizabeth area in view of the suffering and distress that would eventuate from such action." They asked the Board to reject any action which "unjustly discriminates" against them (the non-Whites) in favour of other interests. In a resolution concerning the Act, the Assembly impressed upon the Government the folly of "tampering with the age-old and traditional residential areas." It pleaded for earnest consideration to be given to withholding further action under the terms of the Act.

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Botha Commission Report on Coloured Education

A summary of the findings of this report was presented at the Annual Assembly of the Congregational Union by Rev. G. Owen Lloyd and the chairman drew the attention of the section to the opinion of the Public Questions Department.

The report of the commission was discussed at length and the trend of the discussion was that whereas the introduction of compulsory education and the inclusion of Std. VI into the secondary schools were laudable, the money to implement these aims even within ten years was not available to the Cape Administration. The meeting was of the conviction that those portions of the report which were not acceptable such as emphasising hand-work in the syllabi of rural schools and making commercial subjects of major importance in urban secondary schools, and forcing mother tongue education rather than giving the parents the choice in the matter, would be implemented because they would not cost much. The meeting expressed the conviction that the motivation of the report was political rather than educational and that the result of implementation of only certain recommendations therein will be a type of education that will be inferior to the education provided in the mission schools of the churches in past years.

The Assembly agreed to ask the Administrative Committee of the Midland District Association to appoint a committee to formulate the above opinions and to confer with leaders of Coloured Churches of other denominations to get wider support for these opinions on the report.

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What's in a Name?

The following has appeared in *The World*. "The people of the Transkei have won a big victory. The Government brought in the Bantu Authorities Act to stop the people from electing members to the Bunga. Chiefs were to take all this power into their hands instead. But though today the Bunga is officially called by another name, it remains the same. People may elect members. The victory was brought about by fighting councillors. They objected to the new Government system. This information *The World* learnt from Chief C. K. Sakwe of Idutywa. He said that today the Bunga (or the Bantu Authorities General Council) is a democratic body which helps the people. Both chiefs and commoners work side by side. Bunga Councillors agreed to accept the Bantu Authorities provisions provided the old system remained. They waged a bitter war against the Government's project to limit membership to chiefs only. The Government was at first only prepared to allow commoners to sit in the Bunga if they were nominated by Chiefs. Members objected that this was not democracy and today they have

won. Chief Sakwe told *The World* he was expecting a proclamation to be brought out soon giving commoners back their voting rights." We await with interest the publication of the proclamation referred to by Councillor Sakwe.

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The Christian Council of South Africa

The Christian Council is publishing regularly in January, April, July and October an eight-page double-column journal giving full accounts of the Council's activities, and also touching on aspects of world affairs in the life of the Churches. The Council, through its General Purposes and Action Committees, and its various Sections under recognised leaders, is active on various fronts of our multi-racial country. The October issue of the *Quarterly* has a full account of the Conference on Christian Literature for the Bantu held in Johannesburg in August as well as other items of special interest. Happily the finances of the Council show improvement, partly due to the fact that a number of the affiliated bodies have doubled or otherwise increased their financial support. Readers of the *Outlook* who wish copies of the *Quarterly* should communicate with the Council Secretary, Rev. Dr. A. W. Blaxall, P.O. Box 33, Heidelberg, Transvaal.

The Executive of the Christian Council is meeting more often. Its next meeting is to be in Cape Town on January 10th and 11th. Because of the amount of business to be dealt with the Executive is to meet for two days instead of the customary one day. Items to be dealt with include the 1957 Budget in relation to re-organisation plans; suggestions for closer co-operation between the Council and the South African Sunday School Association; the World Christian Council study, "Christian Responsibility in Areas of Rapid Social Change," and other important subjects.

* * * *

The late H. I. E. Dhlomo

We regret to report the death of Mr. H. I. E. Dhlomo, former assistant editor of *ILanga lase Natal*, which, *The World* says, took place in the King Edward Hospital, Durban on Tuesday, 23rd October. Mr. Dhlomo had a remarkable career, devoting himself to many literary pursuits. He was the first African organiser of the Non-European Library pioneered in the Transvaal with headquarters at Germiston. Quite a number of books came from his pen, some of the best-known being *Nongqause*, *The Girl Who Killed to Save*, a play on the Cattle-Killing episode among the Amakhosa in the 'fifties of last century and *The Valley of a Thousand Hills*, a book of meritorious poems in English. Mr. Dhlomo contended that African writers should write mostly in English, as he believed that there was a very limited future for the vernacular languages. He had also original ideas on the form in which African

poetry should be cast. He contended that Hebrew parallelism was much more in keeping with the traditional methods of African praise poets, and that modern poets writing in the vernacular should model their work on similar lines. The Zulu people in particular have lost a notable literary pioneer.

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National Bantu Sunday School Convention

The 17th Annual National Bantu Sunday School Convention of the South African National Sunday School Association will be held at the Fred Clark Institution, Orlando, Johannesburg, from the 16th to 19th December. The Convention is open to Christian workers of all denominations interested in Sunday School work. For further particulars apply to the General Secretary, S.A. National Sunday School Association, P.O. Box 17, Port Elizabeth.

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The Church in Great Britain

An American member of the Society of St. John the Evangelist has been visiting Britain, and in an interesting and often amusing contribution to *The Cowley Evangelist* he gives his impression of the position of the Church in England. Some of his remarks deserve reproduction. He says: I am much tempted to write back to the States telling of the mighty revival sweeping this country. It would have some foundation in fact. One is continually finding interest in religion in nooks and crannies where one would never expect it—even Westminster Abbey (where, I was told, people who try to say their prayers are severely rebuked). Such religious-monuments-turned-museum are very puzzling to the provincial American, but time convinces him that they do have a pervading religious effect on the people of this country. I heard Billy Graham speak when he came to Oxford, and I have taken part in a pilgrimage to Walsingham, and I was greatly impressed with the depth of the religious response of the crowds on both occasions. But all kinds of people who would take no interest in either, and who, in fact, seldom go to church, seem to retain great respect and affection for the Institution. In a new batch of Council Houses near here there has been a door-to-door campaign to raise money for a new church. Every week the callers go around, and they have figured out that 80 per cent of the families that live in the district are regular contributors. I am told of results similar to this in other areas. To me this is far more impressive than any statistics we could produce in the States. We might get a response like this to fight cancer or Communism, but not to build a church. My own country is still essentially a missionary area—others have become so after drifting from the Faith. It would seem to me that your country could still be called Christian, and perhaps it is not too late to keep it so.

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African Leaders and the Tomlinson Report

IN our editorial columns we comment on the national conference of African leaders held, under the auspices of the inter-denominational African Ministers Federation, at Bloemfontein last month. *The Friend* published the text of the resolution unanimously adopted at the close of the Conference. Below we give the full text :

"The African people of the Union of South Africa, at the invitation of the inter-denominational African Ministers Federation, assembled in a national conference in Bloemfontein from October 4 to 6 to consider the Tomlinson Report. The representative character of the conference was indicated by the fact that 394 delegates, drawn from all parts of the country both urban and rural, representing all shades of African political and other opinion were in attendance.

"Careful consideration was given to all aspects of the report, the discussion being preceded by papers prepared by leaders of African thought who are acknowledged authorities in the fields with which they dealt. After detailed examination of the principles and policies enunciated in the report the conference desires to place on record its total rejection of the report as a comprehensive plan for the implementation of apartheid in South Africa for the following reasons :

"The Tomlinson Report concedes that a solution of this problem will only have been achieved when a satisfactory arrangement in regard to the political aspect is arrived at. This conference can find nothing in the report remotely resembling 'a satisfactory arrangement in regard to the political aspect.'

"An arrangement on the commission's own premises could logically mean only sovereign independence for the so-called Bantu areas."

The statement quotes the paragraph setting out the Tomlinson Commission's view of the choice before South Africa, chapter 25, paragraph 42 and then continues :

NOT JUST TWO ALTERNATIVES

"This conference does not subscribe to the view that the choice before South Africa consists only of two alternatives—'ultimate complete integration' or 'ultimate complete separation between Europeans and Bantu.' The conference maintains that a proper reading of the South African situation calls for co-operation and inter-dependence between the various races comprising the South African nation and denies that this arrangement would constitute a threat to the survival of the White man in South Africa.

"The conference finds that the net result of the implementation of the Tomlinson Report will be a continuation of the status quo and indeed an aggravation of the worst evils of the present system, including their extension to the

Protectorates. Under the present conditions the policy and practice of apartheid denies the African inalienable and basic human rights on the pretext that the African is a threat to White survival and denies him :

"(a) A share in the government of the country.

"(b) The inviolability of the home ;

"(c) Economic rights, the right to collective bargaining and to sell labour on the best market ;

"(d) The right to free assembly and freedom of travel, movement and association ;

"(e) Inviolability of person.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

"This conference has examined the detailed plans for the economic development of the reserves put forward by the commission, but can find no justification for the view that this development should be linked with the application of the policy of apartheid.

"The conference maintains that any programme of rehabilitation and development of these distressed areas of the Union, based upon this ideological approach, will not command the desired support and co-operation of the African people.

"The general economic development of the resources of all parts of the country in which the skills and abilities of all its peoples are utilised is sound policy. But a separate plan of development of the Native areas, based on the policy of apartheid, and the concept of separate national homes for the Africans coupled with deprivation of basic and economic rights and opportunities in the rest of the country is something totally unacceptable to this conference.

"Furthermore, this conference notes that the Government itself in its White Paper on the report has rejected some of the principal and most significant recommendations of the commission and has thus undermined the goals which it sets out to achieve. Thus the claim that the Government is moving in the direction of these goals emerges as a hollow political bluff.

CIVIL RIGHTS

"In dealing with the question of civil liberties the Tomlinson Report is at pains to prove that in regard to their wider civil rights the Africans are 'substantially in no worse position than other sections of the population.'

"This conference rejects this false picture of the South African situation which seeks to gloss over the glaring inequalities and disabilities from which the Africans suffer under the mounting discriminatory legislation of a Parliament in which they have no effective representation.

"The continuation of this policy has already created a grave situation in which orderly government and the foundations of South Africa as a viable State are seriously threatened.

"Police raids, banishment orders, dismissals for political non-conformity, extension of the pass system to women, detention camps, farm prisons, convict labour, the slave markets euphemistically called the labour bureaux, and all the other trappings of a Police State constitute an intolerable burden to the African people.

"The conference reiterates the demand of the African people for the abolition of discriminatory rights to all, which alone will guarantee peaceful and harmonious relations between Black and White in South Africa.

EDUCATION

"The recommendations of the Tomlinson Report on education are unrealistic as they propose to prepare pupils for a life in a society which is non-existent—a mythical Bantustan. Economic and world forces tend to channel African development in the opposite direction of co-operation and inter-dependence.

"One of the tests of a good educational system is whether it is able to throw up leaders of ability and character. In spite of the promise of full development opportunities in the future separate sphere, it seems that training of leaders does not occupy a very high place in the priorities of the new system. Thoroughness, breadth of vision and individual excellence are being played down as ever against the superficial education of the mass of the people.

"Further, the compulsory use of the African languages as media of instruction throughout the educational system will tend to reduce horizons and make true university education impossible by diminishing the opportunities of intercommunication between the African groups themselves and the wider world in general of which they form part. The contemplated establishment of a Bantu University of South Africa with constituent colleges organised on an ethnic grouping would be a further threat to academic freedom.

"The colleges established under such a scheme of differentiation would not only be starved of adequate financial support but would also lead to isolation from other university institutions of the country and deterioration in academic standards.

CHURCH AND STATE

"The commission looks upon the Church or Churches as something to be controlled and used by the Government to further its own schemes. The conference disagrees with the commission on the grounds that the Churches are the instruments of God for the establishment of His kingdom on earth and therefore answerable only to God with a right to intervene in moral issues affecting the nation as a whole.

SEPARATE AREAS

"The conference rejects the theory that there can be in South Africa so-called European areas and Bantu areas.

Africans and other non-Europeans claim that there is not an inch of South African soil to which they are not entitled on an equal basis with Europeans.

"The conference therefore asserts that Africans and other non-Europeans are entitled to all rights, privileges and immunities enjoyed by Europeans wherever they live and work. Conference therefore rejects the mass removals of non-Europeans and their dispossession of freehold rights under the Native Resettlement Act of 1952 and the Group Areas Act of 1950 (as amended) and similar legislation.

"Conference rejects the concept of national homes for Africans in certain arbitrarily defined areas for the following reasons: Africans are the indigenous inhabitants of the country with an indisputable claim to the whole of South Africa as their home.

"There is no part of the country to the development of which they have not made their full contribution. Such a concept facilitates the exploitation and economic strangulation of the Africans and perpetuates White domination.

"The Tomlinson Report has suggested a revision of the direct taxation paid by the Africans 'with a view to an increase in such taxation commensurate with their high earning capacity and the low monetary value of the pound.' In the opinion of the conference it is difficult to appreciate the commission's suggestion and reason, because for precisely the same reason of a low monetary value of the pound, the earning capacity and the ability to pay direct taxation of the African are affected.

SAME TAX BASIS

"It must be noted further that the commission seems to have taken no account in recent years of the number of Africans who pay income tax on the same basis as Europeans. The commission has also not considered the inequity of the present system of direct taxation of the African upon which it has based its recommendations nor can direct taxation alone be a true index of the full contribution of the African people to the total revenue of the country without taking into account their contribution in indirect taxation.

"The belief so widely held by White South Africans, that it is so-called White monies that are financing African services and welfare, is in total disregard of the fact that the very profits and incomes made by Europeans are the result of the use of Africans as an essential factor in production, and a low wage is paid to them. In other words it is the Africans who are subsidising the Europeans and not vice versa.

"This conference is convinced that the present policy of apartheid constitutes a threat to race relations in the country, therefore, in the interests of all the people and

the future of the country, this conference calls upon all national organisations to mobilise all people, irrespective of race, colour or creed, to form a united front against apartheid.

"This conference welcomes the initiative of the inter-denominational African Ministers' Federation in bringing together African leaders to consider the Tomlinson Report and its implications for South Africa, and appeals to the Christian Churches in South Africa to take a clear and unequivocal stand in the defence of Christian and human values now being trampled underfoot in the name of apartheid.

Bird's Eye View Apartheid

Some months ago a small paragraph appeared in the newspapers informing South Africa that the Group Areas Act had been applied in fourteen places in the country. As this item of news was obviously meant for overseas consumption, people in South Africa did not ask for the names of the 14 places so that they could judge for themselves whether the Group Areas Act is workable. Anybody with the most meagre knowledge of South African affairs would realise at once that the 14 places were small villages where the cost and inconvenience of applying the Group Areas Act immediately was not great. It appears, however, that this item of news has had no political value for the protagonists of the doctrine of apartheid in South Africa, and it has been necessary to find a large town where this policy can be applied at once and can be used as an example of the practicability of the Group Areas Act. The place chosen was Paarl where the Ratepayers' Association has put forward a scheme for applying the Group Areas Act because the Municipality has found that the application of the Group Areas Act to Paarl is impossible.

The reason for choosing Paarl seems to have been the geographical situation of the town. It lies in the valley of the Berg river on the east side of which is a habitable stretch of land some nine miles long and half a mile wide and on the west side is a similar stretch one mile wide. Taking a "bird's eye view" of the valley the protagonists of apartheid have put forward the facile solution that the Europeans should live on the West Bank and the Coloureds on the East Bank. To one ignorant of the situation, the solution seems easy. But Mr. A. H. Broeksma, Q.C. of Cape Town had no difficulty in exposing the fallacy of the proposals of the Ratepayers' Association that the Berg River should be the dividing line. He described the Group Areas Act as the legalisation of a social revolution to which no forethought had been given by the legislators. As far as Paarl was concerned no sociological survey had been made. No estimate of the results of the forced removal of the occupants of property valued by the Muni-

POWERFUL BODY

We appeal to that strong and powerful body, for which the Dutch Reformed Church speaks with recognised authority, to re-examine its approach to the race question. We call upon all South Africans who realise the dangers and effects of apartheid to take a positive step to break down the colour bar in group relations. We urge them furthermore to ensure that democratic and Christian opinion expresses itself on discriminatory legislation in ways most likely to impress on the mind of the people of South Africa the urgent need for a positive alternative to apartheid or separate development."

cipality at £614,860 had been made. No one had any plan for the 800 houses now occupied by Coloured people that would stand empty. No one seems to have considered the mortgages held by banks and building societies.

The cost of this "bird's eye view" apartheid plan in Paarl was estimated at £4,000,000 and the politicians who put it forward, did not seem to be concerned about where the money was to come from. Apart from the financial implications there was the impairment of human relations where the price of insecurity, frustration, broken homes, loss of production in the factories, resultant racial animosities would have to be paid by the Coloured community. The motive behind this deliberate uprooting of a settled, hard-working middle class community which has struggled to raise itself up to a status of social security and respectability, would appear to be race hatred. The field where antipathy flourishes is the mind of the former poor-white community now raised to social security by sheltered employment in organizations such as the S.A. Railways. The proof of the poor-white mentality is found in such fantastic schemes as that suggested for Paarl. "Money is no object, the government pays" seems to be enough excuse for indulging in paper plans that catch the votes of unthinking Europeans at the cost of destroying the goodwill of faithful Non-Europeans. South Africa can no longer afford to shrug this off as part of the game of politics. Instead of preserving Western civilization the apartheid politicians have set their feet on the path of self destruction.

G.O.L.

A Fine Gesture.

The children of the S.A.B.C. Sunday School Choir have donated their "fee" to the buying of a radio for the children's ward at Tugela Ferry Hospital, Natal.

* * * *

Towards Racial Harmony*

By H. F. Oppenheimer, M.P.

Racial harmony in Southern Africa can be maintained and developed only if a realistic policy is pursued. The aim of policy should be to secure the economic, cultural and social development of all races to the full extent of their capabilities ; but this objective must be pursued with knowledge and appreciation of two fundamental facts : first, there is no possibility of changing the existing multi-racial character of Southern Africa by attempting to segregate European and non-European into separate areas ; and, secondly, the real separation between Black and White is a difference in cultural level, which is often confused with racial prejudice. In any form of integration, the racial difference must remain : but there is immense scope for improving the lot of the African people by raising their cultural level, through education, training and experience, as close as possible to the very much more advanced level of the European. These points were the basis of Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer's address delivered at the Duke of Edinburgh's Study Conference on Human Relations in Industry, held recently at Oxford University. The interest that this address has aroused has justified its being reproduced in full for permanent record, as a supplement to OPTIMA. Mr. Oppenheimer is joint deputy chairman and managing director of Anglo American Corporation of South Africa.

THE subject on which I am to speak is largely political, and perhaps on that account it is rash of me to tackle it. I am a politician as well as a business man and have taken some part in the bitter controversy about race relations which has dominated South African politics for the last ten years. Obviously, it would be inappropriate for me to use this occasion to pursue the South African political struggle, but, on the other hand, you will no doubt expect me to speak my mind plainly. I must confess to being rather nervous of the delicate balancing act that is involved ; but I shall do my best.

I shall, as I am sure you would wish, confine myself to the Union of South Africa and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the countries of which I have first-hand experience. Even so, my field is immensely wide. It will, therefore, I think, be best if I start off by stating what I believe the proper objective of policy to be in Southern Africa. It is to secure the economic, cultural and social development of all the races concerned to the full extent of their capabilities in a manner that will not adversely affect the high standards already established for the Europeans. This objective can be attained only by co-operation between the races in all spheres of the national life.

You may well think that by these generalities I have done little to narrow down my huge field to manageable proportions. I would, therefore, at once point out that, widely as I have cast my net, I have already assumed away the whole political issue in the Union of South Africa and, at the same time, have tacitly rejected the claims of African nationalism. The political issue in South Africa does not turn on the problems of a multi-racial society but on the anterior question of whether any sort of multi-racial society is desirable or indeed, in the long run, possible. The Nationalist Party Government in South Africa says emphatically that it is not ; and, similarly, the Black nationalists reject the whole concept of a multi-racial society, and, going even further in their point of view than the extreme White nationalists in theirs, claim all Southern Africa for a Black nation alone.

No political party in South Africa seeks—in theory any how—to deny the Africans the fullest development of which they are capable, but it is the contention of the Government Nationalist Party, the protagonists of the doctrine of “apartheid,” that the full potentialities of the Africans will be realized only if the two races live in separate areas of their own and work out their individual destinies in their own way. As a theory this is certainly attractive. The problems of a multi-racial society are intractable and involve grave risks. It is not surprising, therefore, that many people, Black and White, in South Africa feel that, instead of trying to solve these problems, it would be better to abolish them by doing away with the multi-racial society from which they spring. Those of us in South Africa who are on the other side of the fence do not seek to impugn the good faith of those who entertain such ideas. It is not only in South Africa that people are able to believe with passionate sincerity in things that are manifestly untrue !

But it is quite plain that the separation of Black and White into areas of their own, what in South Africa we call “apartheid,” if carried out to any significant extent, would destroy the economy of the country with disastrous results for all the races in it. Nothing is more certain, therefore, than that, no matter which Government is in power, this policy will not be carried out. But just for that reason the refusal of opportunities for development to the Africans in the multi-racial South Africa that exists to-day, on the grounds that their just claims will be met by racial separation in the future, is calculated to destroy the possibility of inter-racial co-operation. The idea of solving our racial problems by unscrambling the multi-racial society that has already been built is nothing but a dream,

*Reproduced from *Optima*, a Quarterly Review published by Anglo American Corporation of South Africa.

beautiful or ugly depending on your taste, but in any case entirely unsuitable as a basis for action. I am assuming, therefore, that the multi-racial situation which has come into being in Southern Africa will continue to expand and that our object is to regulate it in the best interests of the races that make it up.

Now what are the factors which create the strains and difficulties that face us in this task? There seem to me to be three principal factors, inter-connected and overlapping, but logically distinct. The first factor is race-consciousness as such: the belief of most Europeans in the importance of purity of race, combined with an unquestioning faith in the intrinsic superiority of the race to which they happen to belong. I do not wish to comment on the validity of this conception, which, after all, is by no means confined to South Africa, but only to point out its special importance for us. I mention this matter first because race-consciousness is deeply rooted and in its overtones affects the judgment of most South Africans on all sorts of indirectly and distantly related matters. Africans, in their way, are just as deeply affected as Europeans, and an unfortunate, though understandable, feature, which must strike any European who sincerely tries to work with them, is their inability to see any problem except in racial terms.

The next factor—and it is of the greatest importance—is that the Africans of Southern Africa are, on the whole, still an extremely primitive people. They are primitive in their social and political organization, in their agriculture and in their techniques. More important still, their way of life often appears strange and sometimes frankly unattractive to Europeans, and no doubt the reverse is true. Their moral concepts, customs over food and dress, ideas governing the relative status of men and women and so on, are quite different from those of Europeans. The religion of the majority, moreover, is not Christianity, as some of you may have been led to suppose, but various forms of ancestor-worship.

Naturally, I would not be so foolish as to pass judgment on the potentiality for development of the Africans—and the achievements of many brilliant individuals certainly suggest that it is high. But I am now concerned not with potentialities but with existing realities, and at present the average standard of the African is extremely low, and, inevitably, for many years will continue to be low. We must remember, too, that those Africans who have emerged from primitive conditions have not done so by building on African foundations but by assimilating ready-made, and adopting as their own, an alien European culture. And this was necessary, because there is no possibility whatever of building a modern industrial state within the framework of the primitive social, economic and political system of the Africans. The advancement of the Africans can take place only if the African way of life and thought,

however picturesque it may be in some respects, is abandoned in favour of a state and society built on European foundations. An excessive tenderness among many Europeans—but never, I think, among educated Africans—for tribal forms and discipline is a serious brake on African progression.

Naturally, such profound changes cannot be effected abruptly, and much good and much use still remain in traditional African ways. In the long run, however, African society must disintegrate and the Africans must become an integral part of an entirely different sort of society. Until they are able on the whole to do that—and it will take many years—it will not be possible to avoid—and, indeed, it will be essential to maintain not necessarily by law but by custom—a substantial measure of social and residential separation of the races. This separation, however, while in practice it will correspond broadly with the racial division and must inevitably, I am afraid, be reinforced by racial prejudice, is in its essence not a question of race but of culture, or, if you like, of class.

Among the Europeans in South Africa we have what I think can fairly be described as a classless—though fortunately not an egalitarian—society. I am inclined to doubt whether that ideal has yet been reached in England! In any case it is surely plain that, even in a homogeneous country such as England, the process of building up a classless society, if you are wise enough to want to level up and not to level down, is a long and difficult one. Of course, if a class system depends on nothing more important than snobbery and prejudice, it may be possible to break it down rapidly; but if it rests on profound cultural, social or religious differences, then it is quite another matter. In South Africa, between the Europeans and the vast majority of the Africans there is an immense cultural gulf which it will take generations to bridge, and we must not forget that in Africa a process of levelling down would mean the acceptance for all races of ignorance, poverty and barbarism. For obvious reasons it does not make for racial harmony if people of widely different habits and cultural standards are required to live in close social relations with one another. If we are wise, therefore, we will accept the desire of the Europeans in Southern Africa for a measure of social separation as something that corresponds with the realities of the situation, and is not based merely on vulgar race prejudice. That prejudice and intolerance reinforce the demand for separation cannot, of course, be denied, but the remedy for prejudice and intolerance lies, to my mind, in better education for both Black and White, and certainly not in an enforced proximity of communities whose ways of life differ profoundly from each other.

The third factor is the fear of the European workers that African labourers, working for low wages, may break down their high standard of life. It is this fear that is at

the base of the so-called "economic colour bar," by which African labour is confined, either by law or by pressure from the White trade unions, or by custom, to unskilled work. Such a limitation is obviously unjust and runs directly counter to our objective of helping the Africans to realize their full economic potential. Nevertheless, the matter is by no means as simple as at first sight it might appear. The fears of the European workers are not groundless and, if African progression is to go forward as it should, these fears must be met.

We are concerned here with what is in essence not a racial but an economic question. How would trade unionists in any part of the world look on an influx into their industries of large numbers of peasants with a very low standard of living, and willing to work for a fraction of the wage rates they had established? Would they not, at the very least, try to lay down stringent conditions and would they not be suspicious of the motives of employers who wanted to make extensive use of such labour? Of course, they would! And who could blame them? And then in Southern Africa there is the further complication that the peasants have black skins. On the one hand, this means that the reasonable economic fears of the White workers are reinforced by unreasonable racial prejudice, and, on the other hand, it has the effect of causing many liberal-minded, well-meaning people, in their dislike of racial discrimination, to lose sight of the underlying economic facts.

There is, I am afraid, no doubt that the White workers in South Africa have been on occasion, and in many cases still are, unfair and unreasonable in their attitude towards African advancement. That attitude must change, not only in fairness to the Africans but in the economic interest of the whole population, Black and White. South Africa is not so rich a country that it can afford not to make proper use of the greater part of its human resources. But the attitude of the White workers will not change unless the fears that cause it can be removed.

In South Africa the expressed policy of the Government is to maintain the industrial colour bar and to limit the Africans to unskilled work in what they call the "White areas" of the country. On the other hand, they propose to help the Africans to develop to the full, free from White competition, in what they call the "African areas." No doubt the plan has theoretical attractions but the practical difficulties are considerable, of which not the least is that nearly two-thirds of the African population live and work in the so-called "White areas." The enforcement of an industrial colour bar by law, apart from the moral issue it raises, has grave practical disadvantages in that it tends to impose a rigid pattern on the organization of industry. Where the industrial colour bar is not enforced by law, it is often enforced by the European trade unions, sometimes

directly and sometimes by the manner in which the sound principle of the "rate for the job" is applied. This last approach is particularly favoured in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, where both Government policy and the general state of public opinion are opposed to an industrial colour bar as such.

African labour, except at simple repetitive jobs, is, on the whole, much less efficient than European labour. Naturally, when I say that, I am talking of the present position, and am not saying anything about what the future potentialities may be. Moreover, as I have already pointed out, there is a great gulf between the customary standard of living and cultural and social habits of Black and White. In these circumstances you will readily understand that if the White trade unionists rigidly insist that there must be no "dilution" of labour, no "fragmentation" of processes to make room for intermediate grades of workers, and that if Africans do skilled jobs they must receive precisely the same conditions, rates of pay, provision for housing, social amenities, and so forth, as are customary for Europeans, the effect must be completely to exclude Africans from all but unskilled work.

Nevertheless, though the principle of the "rate for the job" can be misused in order to hold Africans back, it remains sound and its maintenance is the only way to give proper security to the White workers. But if it is to be maintained, then the White workers must be prepared to agree to rates being fixed in such a way as in practice to make increasing numbers of skilled jobs available to the Africans.

That is what has happened on the Copperbelt in Northern Rhodesia, where 24 categories of jobs previously done by Europeans have, by agreement with the White union, been handed over to Africans. Wages and conditions for these jobs have been fixed considerably below those normally received by Europeans, but considerably above those obtainable in the past by Africans. In theory, all jobs on the copper mines are open to Black and White, but in practice certain jobs are regularly done by Europeans and others by Africans, and the division is marked by a substantial wage differential. This arrangement corresponds with the economic and social facts of the situation as they exist to-day. Gradually the gap between European jobs and African jobs will be bridged, and more and more jobs will, in practice as well as in theory, become open to Africans until the present sharp distinction between Black jobs and White jobs becomes blurred and, perhaps, finally disappears. The speed of advance will depend on many factors: the skill and sense of responsibility shown by the Africans themselves, and, at least as important, their standards of living and culture; the condition of the national economy and the prosperity of the copper mining

industry in particular ; and, finally, the state of mind of the European workers.

The problems created by the reasonable demands of the Africans for advancement must be faced, not only by industrialists but by the whole European population of Southern Africa, of which the European workers, of course, are a most important part. Much is asked of the European workers, and on the Copperbelt, anyhow, it has been possible to take an important step forward in agreement with them. Further progress there and throughout Southern Africa is going to depend very much on their good sense and goodwill, and it is to be hoped that the leaders of African opinion on their side will realize that fact.

I know that many people will say that, if African progression has to wait until the goodwill of the European workers can be obtained, it will have to wait for ever. I do not believe that such pessimism is justified, or that it will be impossible to make the White workers see that African advancement is needed to maintain the tempo of economic progress on which the prosperity of all the workers depends. And I think that practical experience supports my optimistic view. The step that has been taken on the Copperbelt is notable because the mining industry there and in the Union is, for historical and technical reasons, the field in which the present inter-racial pattern is most rigidly set. But it is in secondary industry, where techniques are more fluid and where there is a wide field of semi-skilled jobs, which have not come to be regarded as essentially either "White" or "Black" jobs, that the most rapid advance has taken place.

In Rhodesia the numbers of Africans in secondary industry increased by 100 per cent between 1941 and 1953. Many earn good wages. Some bookkeepers and clerks earn from £420 to £720 per annum ; lorry drivers up to £480 per annum ; a foreman baker £540 per annum ; a very moderate bricklayer £360 per annum ; and so on. In the Union it is the same. Indeed, it is perhaps in the Union, where the economy is more developed, that the fullest use is being made of African skill and the Africans can earn the highest wages. Nearly 500,000 Africans are employed in factories there. While most do unskilled work, increasing numbers are in semi-skilled and skilled occupations and earn good wages. I know, for instance, of certain African factory workers who earn as much as £15 a week. This may be surprising to those who think of South Africa as a country in which all Africans are repressed and confined to menial occupations. The fact is, however, that there is a wide and widening gap between theory and what in practice is happening. In spite of the Government in South Africa being committed to a policy of separation, the truth is that more and more Africans are becoming detribalized and urbanized. More and more of them are being taken up into European-controlled industry,

and more and more of them are doing semi-skilled and skilled work and earning wages which ten years ago would have been beyond their wildest dreams and which are probably still, in most cases, far beyond anything earned by African factory workers elsewhere in the continent. The fact is that economic pressure works all the time to secure co-operation between the races, because that is the only way to develop the great undeveloped areas of Southern Africa and to raise the general standard of life. This process is not helped by the intrusion of pre-conceived political theories or ideological obsessions.

The European population of South Africa is widely condemned in the rest of the world, and it seems to be generally supposed that it is only the Europeans in South Africa who are inclined to reject inter-racial co-operation. Unfortunately, that is not the case. Racial politics are every bit as popular among Africans as they are among Europeans, and the emergence of Black nationalism is a major danger to the unity, security and prosperity of Southern Africa. Recent events on the Northern Rhodesia Copperbelt have emphasized this danger. There, with official assistance and encouragement from London, a strong African mineworkers' union was formed some years ago, and it has been able to gain important benefits for African mine workers, both in the form of higher overall wages and by helping to secure opportunities for Africans to do more skilled and better paid jobs that had previously been reserved for Europeans. Recently, however, there has been an unmistakable tendency for this African union to allow itself to be used as the instrument of Black nationalists, whose objective is not a fair participation of Africans in a multi-racial society, but the transformation of Rhodesia into an exclusively African country.

This brings me back to considerations I touched on at the beginning of my speech. We shall not solve the industrial problems or any other problems of a multi-racial society unless we accept the idea of a multi-racial society and plan on that basis. Physically, South Africa offers great opportunities, and, if the necessary capital, organizing ability and technical skill can be made available, should be able to afford a good life to all its inhabitants. It is not any physical difficulty that stands in the way but the psychological difficulty of obtaining goodwill and co-operation. There is no real possibility of turning South Africa or Rhodesia into White countries or Black countries, or of dividing them effectively into White or Black areas. It is significant that the Tomlinson Commission, which has recently examined the possibility of territorial separation of the races in the Union, with an obvious desire to prove "apartheid" feasible, has found that, when all that would be possible and, to my mind, a great deal that would be impossible, had been done to separate the races, the population in what the Commissioners call the "European

areas" would be one-third African, one-third other non-European peoples and only one-third European. The essential multi-racial character of Southern Africa cannot now be changed. Our choice is not whether Black and White should live together or not, but whether, living together, we should quarrel or co-operate. Considerations of morality, economics and commonsense all point to co-operation, but there are powerful forces of prejudice, stupidity and political ambition which drive in the opposite direction. These forces of disruption are just as powerful among the Africans as among the Europeans, and are equally dangerous and equally to be condemned wherever they are found.

I have tried to show that most of the difficulties we meet in industry in Southern Africa are parallel to those which have been encountered with rapid industrialization elsewhere. Such difficulties are increased by race prejudice

but are not caused by it. On the material side, the industrial revolution in Southern Africa has already brought about a tremendous rise in the standard of living of Africans as well as Europeans and has, at the same time, developed their needs and aspirations. It is plain that, in Africa, we have reached a stage where further physical progress, which is certainly possible, is going to depend more and more on our ability to solve the human problems that have been created. These problems must be faced and cannot be conjured away by assuming that profound cultural, social and racial differences do not exist or are simply a matter of unreasoning prejudice. On the other hand, if we seek to remove the occasion for conflict by a separation of the races, the effect will be not only to prevent further progress, but to destroy the great advance that has already been made.

The Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa

AND THE PROBLEM OF RACE RELATIONS

PART III

(The Federal Council of Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa appointed an "ad hoc" Commission to prepare a report on the attitude of their Churches to the Problem of Race Relations. This has been presented and approved by the Synodical Commission of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Transvaal. An English translation was recently published. We feel this document to be of first-class importance, so we have published it in full, by means of several instalments spread over some months. Parts I and II have already appeared in our columns; the final part is below.

Editor, "S.A. Outlook.")

ADDENDUM RE DECLARATION OF POLICY

As a further clarification of our policy your Commission wishes to draw attention to the following:

1. Although mankind is to be regarded as one great human family, sin with its selfishness dispersed the nations and set them up in enmity against each other. In spite of the Incarnation of the Lord this disruption and conflict between people and nations outside Christ will last to the end of time. In this situation the believing people of God in Christ should be the salt of the earth and the light of the world (Matt. 5: 13, 14). In their ranks the restored unity of the new human race should be experienced and demonstrated to the world. This is their calling.
2. For those who are in Christ this conflict has essentially ended and the middle wall of partition been broken down. As opposed to the rest of humanity they have become a new people, the people of God (1 Pet. 2: 10; Gal. 6: 16). They experience a unity of a special kind, the spiritual

and mystic unity of believers, as members of the body of Christ. The unity exists between believers in spite of great differences of language, culture or race. The unity exists on a totally different level and does not destroy the identity of nation or race. Only the relationship towards each other has changed: a relationship of faith, love and brotherhood in Christ instead of hate, enmity and rebellion against God. The Church of Christ is therefore supra-national but not a-national. Therefore we accept the existence and the continued survival of independent nations and races within the Church of Christ, and we do not confuse disruption with diversity. The natural diversity of nations and certain other groups is not abolished by the Christian faith, but rather sanctified.

3. We are therefore convinced that in view of the existing diversity of races, different independent indigenous Churches can arise within the same geographical area without denying or disturbing the essential unity of God's people. Such independent Churches can develop more fully, and under the sovereignty of God they can serve to reveal more completely the riches in Christ. Independent Churches among the diverging groups can, as a result of differences of language, national character and approach, lead to a richer revelation of the Kingdom of God.
4. We are however conscious of the dangers that attend such independent Churches in a multi-racial land. Wrong and unchristian motives and attitudes can easily infiltrate. The motive can comprise more than the

permissible practical considerations. For instance, a spirit of superiority dare not arise which seeks to get rid of the less privileged fellow-believer in Christ on the grounds of race and colour by establishing and furthering such independent Churches. That is decidedly opposed to the Christian concept of the nature of the communion of saints. With regret we observe that some among us are inclined this way. As a church we disapprove of it as a total contradiction of the unity in Christ. Therefore the Church considers its calling to educate its members in the true attitude to life. It is our outspoken conviction that by virtue of this deeper unity in Christ all believers—irrespective of race or colour—are called to acknowledge, respect and love one another as “fellow-citizens with the saints and of the household of God” (Eph. 2: 19). In Christ they form a body or group, neither internally disrupted nor in rebellion against God, which is set over against the sinful world as a revelation of a new people, regenerated and united in Christ. In spite of all geographic and ethnic differences they should grasp the hand of brotherhood. They are all members of one body (1 Cor. 12: 12-27), and as the household of God they are united with spiritual ties that are loftier than any natural ties of blood or race, nation or family (Eph. 2: 19; Luk. 14: 26; Matt. 12: 46-50).

5. This professed unity in Christ in our opinion also demands concrete expression not only between denominations but also between believers of different nations and races. Just as the Church is called to strive after a fuller realization of sanctification, so it is also called to strive after a better experience of the communion of saints. We therefore accept the existence of separate Churches according to each indigenous group; as a matter of principle no person will be excluded from corporate worship solely on the grounds of race or colour.
6. Because of exceptionally difficult circumstances in South Africa we are aware that the above-mentioned principles can only be applied with discretion and with difficulty owing to the concrete historical situations. The factual situation with which the Churches in South Africa have been faced for many years and are still faced today, and the undeniable fact of the power of sin in all human relationships throughout the world, compel the Church of Christ to act carefully in its endeavour to apply these principles in practice. On the one hand this need for careful action explains why only some of these principles have been realized in the past (as the historical survey indicates); on the other hand the Church may not, on these grounds, seek to justify its acquiescence and neglect in this respect.
7. (a) We deeply regret that in South Africa there is such a great discrepancy in our race-relations between prin-

ciple and practice, charge and obedience, ideal and reality. The realization of the *koinonia* of believers from different denominations as well as from different races is similar to the striving after sanctification. Because of the flesh, the world and Satan the most saintly person experiences but the rudiments of true holiness. This must unfortunately also be confessed of the expression of our true unity in Christ. Because believers, individually and corporately, still possess so much of the old disturbed nature and disposition of disruption, lovelessness and selfishness, the expression of our restored unity in Christ is impeded.

- (b) The believer here, as elsewhere, does not only experience the remnants of the disunity of the old nature, but the cultural, social and political conditions in South Africa are of such a kind that they greatly obstruct the expression of our deepfelt unity. Therefore it cannot be denied that, owing to the tremendous differences existing in our country, any untimely or enforced expression of this unity can do considerable harm to the interests of the Kingdom of God.
- (c) That such a discrepancy between confession and practice can be found in the people of God, is confirmed by the Scriptures. Just as believers are urged to strive after sanctification (Heb. 12: 14; 1 Thes. 4: 3-8; 1 Pet. 1: 15-16), they are also exhorted to strive after love and unity in Christ (1 Cor. 13; Eph. 4: 3; 1 John 3: 10-17). As in sanctification, so also in our *koinonia*, the expression of the norm or principle falls far short of its profession.
- (d) We notice the same thing in the history of the people of Israel. It required the longsuffering teaching of God to bring them into a right relationship with other nations. The history of the early Christian Church also corroborates the fact that there were problems in race- and group relationships. In spite of the fervour of Pentecostal life and power, the communion of saints was thrown into confusion, even that of the Grecians against the Hebrews (Acts 6: 1); here too the Christian principle still had to become fully effective. Even Peter found the transition and the expression of the unity of believers from different nations difficult. Although he accepted it in principle “he withdrew and separated himself fearing them which were of the circumcision” (Gal. 2: 12). His attitude was not to be justified, and under the guidance and through the courage of Paul this principle was carried out in practice; what we wish to illustrate, however, is that circumstances often obstruct the application of the principle. We believe that the principle must become fully effective, but it takes time, and compulsory methods are not always the

most fruitful. We notice this especially in the emancipation of the slaves and in the emancipation of women. Nowhere in the Scriptures do we find the forced application of fundamental social principles; on the contrary God speaks to man as man in his actual situation and exhorts him to seek the norm of the Kingdom of God in that situation. And without any constraint the fundamental truths of Christian unity, equal worth, and freedom, led to the eventual freeing of the slaves, the emancipation of women and the more complete realization of the *koinonia* of the people of God.

(e) Although we must deplore certain conditions in South Africa, we yet feel equally strongly that the enforced practice of our unity in Christ will not improve matters, but possibly do more harm than good. For we not only come up against the stumbling of weaker believers, but also the unholy abuse of Christian principles for purely secular and political interests. In this difficult situation the Word of God again offers guidance; although Paul, with complete self-denial, was willing to be made all things to all men that he might by all means save some, he yet made allowance for the weakness of the less advanced believers. Where differences arose in the Christian family, it was his conviction that the stronger believer should not become a stumbling-block to the weaker: "We then that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak and not to please ourselves." Again this method was extolled: the coming into effect of the Gospel message until freedom followed of its own accord, and not a revolutionary enforcement of the principle. (Rom. 14—15). This pronouncement of the apostle has special bearing on our race relations: the Christian *koinonia* must be accepted and applied by believers from all nations and races. This must, however, be done so circumspectly that the weaker believer is not alienated, but educated to the task.

(f) Therefore we accept the following as our divine calling: to proclaim clearly the unity of God's people; to educate men to the Scriptural expression of this unity in daily life while taking into consideration the extremely complex and difficult situation in South Africa, which demands that one should act carefully and guard against any compulsory methods; to believe that, in obedience to the Word of God, we may not acquiesce in any neglect or failure; and to trust expectantly that in this country too the Gospel of Christ Jesus will gradually bring about the execution of the command and ideal of the Master with respect to the unity of his people. For the coming of this day we pray and work.

SUMMARY :

1. Since it is clear that for practical reasons the Dutch Reformed Church adopted the course of separate Churches in the 19th century, a study of history proves that circumstances and necessity made the founding of such Churches essential, and the Dutch Reformed Church, according to the light it had, followed a course which it not only deemed necessary, but which has borne much fruit for the preaching of the Gospel and for the extension of the Kingdom of God.

2. The Church accepts the clear demand of Holy Scripture that it should act according to the message of the Scriptures, but is of opinion that circumstances in this country have not changed sufficiently for the ideal to be put fully into practice.

A few matters must be pointed out in this connection :

(a) In South Africa we have to regard the relationship of about 2.8 million Europeans over against about 11.3 Million non-whites, of whom the majority are either complete heathen or gradually approaching a new way of life under the influence of Christianity. The social political, cultural and general degree of civilization of the racial groups differs more than is commonly realized overseas.

(b) At present there is an attitude and relationship of goodwill between the various Dutch Reformed mother and daughter Churches, a relationship that would most certainly be undermined if we were to abandon the policy of separate Churches; as a matter of fact such a step could lead to tension and chaos. The missionary endeavour of the Federated Dutch Reformed Churches is continuing to build on a relationship and tradition of 300 years which cannot be destroyed or suddenly altered regardless of the practical problems, without doing serious damage to the extension of the Kingdom of God.

(c) Because of the danger of being swallowed up by a numerically stronger heathenism, which might have caused European civilization to lose its spiritual and cultural heritage, the Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa did not hesitate to warn against the integration of European and non-white races.

(d) There is no indication that either the European or the non-white members, conscious of the above-mentioned considerations, desire to abolish the separate Churches, or that anything is being done which will result in such abolition. What we *are* aware of is a reciprocal desire for the closer communion of believers from racial groups, and our Church desires and undertakes to promote this closer communion.

Dr. B. B. Keet and Die Kerkbode

IN our last issue we gave a summary of exchanges that had passed between Professor B. B. Keet and the Editor of *Die Kerkbode* in the columns of the official organ of the Dutch Reformed Churches of South Africa.

At the head of the correspondence columns of the issue of 19th September, the editor put a note of thanks for the letters which had come in from all sides in support of his standpoint. His final article, as mentioned by us last month, was headed, "Our Complaint still stands." To this article Dr. Keet replied in a letter which he declared was to be his "last word" in the present controversy. We print below Dr. Keet's letter, to which was appended an editorial note, "We are not making further answer to this correspondence from Dr. Keet."

Dr. Keet wrote :

"OUR COMPLAINT STILL STANDS"

Dear Mr. Editor,

Why so long-winded? You ramble along all those winding by-paths of history, but you never come to the point. The question is not whether there were 'institutions' and such-like separations before 1857, but of whether this came about solely through the concern of the whites for the well-being of the non-whites. And as long as we fail to acknowledge the fact that the separation is due primarily to the unwillingness of the whites to meet in one building with the non-whites and, especially, to sit at the same Communion table, (just as it still is today), we shall not advance an inch. It has nothing to do with world mission policy and indigenous churches. We are not talking about the Bantu Church but about the Coloured (Mission Churches) which differ from us in nothing but colour; their lower level of civilisation cannot justify any church separation.

From what you say—and many with you—one might doubt whether there was any colour problem in South Africa. Here it is you who are the 'academic' one, taking no account of the unwelcome reality. Of course our fathers, under the pressure of circumstances, did the only thing possible, and where the blessing of God was sought and granted on the undertaking, it cannot be attributed to our work but to God's gracious blessing granted in spite of our unwillingness.

This is what I, amongst others, mean by 'ecclesiastical politics'—this sort of explanation of facts, historical and present, for all that you try to connect this expression with state politics. One might expect better comprehension from the *Kerkbode*. When you write: "The Church's viewpoint and policy in regard to race relations is much older than the political pattern or than any political trend of our time, nor is it determined by it. To want to twist

this the other way round is a tragic distortion of our whole church history in its clear course," you are tilting against windmills. I have never contended for anything of the kind. The only opinion which in the very least suggests state politics is where I regret that the Church has identified itself with a specific political creed, namely, territorial segregation. (In parenthesis, I hope that your remarks about liberty of Scripture interpretation does not mean that you always defend apartheid on scriptural grounds!)

Once more I would declare that so long as we do not come to an acknowledgment of our weakness and sinfulness, though not in such a general way that it bothers nobody, but specifically in this matter of colour prejudice, our Church can stop trying to give guidance. How can this be expected from the world if the Church is not in a position to do it?

And now, in closing, in spite of your admirable resolve to abstain from personalities, I am obliged to reply to personal remarks. Who gave you the right to say that I live in tragic isolation? Is it because I disagree with the *Kerkbode*? This would surely merely indicate arrogance. I assume therefore that you mean it in the sense of counting heads—in which case you may be right. But for your comfort I would assure you that I have never felt lonely: I have received too many evidences of close agreement from too many people (members of our Church) whose Christian judgment I value most highly—too many to thank personally—and consequently you will not grudge my taking this opportunity of doing it. And those who differ from me have never let me feel isolated: we know very well that none of us has a monopoly of truth, we are all seeking the path that leads to full day, so long as we are simply willing to follow the light whithersoever it may lead us.

It may assist you to end this correspondence (we cannot go on for ever) I would notify you that this is my last word. The very last of all is, naturally, the privilege of the editor.

Sincerely yours,

B. B. KEET.

No method of reform is so powerful as this: if alongside of a corrupt custom or system is laid one incompatible principle, then that principle without any noise works against it, and finally overthrows it. It was thus that Christianity, without any direct blow at slavery, laid alongside it the incompatible principle of brotherhood and finally overthrew it.

—Duke of Argyll.

New Books

The Sacrament of Reconciliation, by Thomas M. Donn; (Leslie Press; 7/6; pp. 74).

Mr. Donn's study appears very timely for Reformed Church thinkers. He deals with the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper and stresses its importance as a means not only to the realisation of God's forgiveness of man's sin, but also of man's upbuilding in the new life with Christ. This comes in the same year as the interim report of the special commission of the Church of Scotland on Baptism, which report is concerning itself with Baptism much more as a sign of incorporation into the Living Body of Christ, than simply as a sign of the washing away of sin.

Towards the end of his study Mr. Donn quotes Calvin's remark that the mode in which the sacramental grace comes to us "is too high a mystery for my mind to comprehend and my words to express." And the main body of the Reformed Church has ever since declined to dogmatise. The Reformed Church has also tried to keep as nearly as possible to the act as performed by Jesus himself and not to overlay it with extraneous tradition or turn it into a priestly rite. Much discussion has been bedevilled by the desire to dogmatise on the How of the Sacrament instead of looking to our Lord's life and teaching for the Why of it.

Mr. Donn has concentrated much reading and thought into a minimum of pages, and while the reader is frequently left with the regret that the author had not space to explain his points more fully, he is bound to be grateful for the stimulation of thought, expressed in reasonably simple language, yet touching the deepest matters.

Jesus establishing his new covenant has done away with all the paraphernalia of external sacrifice appeasing God or reconciling God to man. His Good News is that God is the Father, is and always has been Love: the reconciling is of the world to God and this is shown forth in the Sacrament. The only sacrifice that can have meaning now for a Christian is the offering of the self.

The Sacrament reminds us that Jesus died to reconcile man to God, not only by showing that God's forgiveness has always been awaiting man's repentance (Jesus is "the lamb slain from the foundation of the world") but also, by suffering in his own body the cost of man's sin, turning man round and up to the life that is in Christ alone. As we receive the bread and the wine we are signifying that we have faith and know the "gift of God": this faith is of grace—"a man can receive nothing except it be given him by heaven." When Jesus said, "This is the new covenant in my blood," he meant that the cup of wine (or rather his taking and giving the cup to the disciples) signified that the new covenant of grace was to be ratified only at the cost of his death.

The Torch Bible Commentaries, The Epistle to the Romans, by Prof. A. M. Hunter, D.D., D.PHIL. (S.C.M. 8/6).

We have in this short book of Prof. Hunter's an excellent conspectus of this Epistle which, as he rightly says, contains the living heart of the Gospel, and is the *magnum opus* of St. Paul.

This Letter of the Apostle has proved somewhat hard going in the past to many readers, but Dr. Hunter's Introduction will prove a wonderfully easing process, worthy of being read again and again.

The modern paraphrases at the beginning of each chapter will also prove of value.

The writer's tributes, oft repeated, to the spiritual profundity of St. Paul are in themselves refreshing, e.g., when he says, "If we are honest, we must award the Apostle full marks for realism. . . the experience of the last fifty years has taught us, in blood and tears, how dread a laboratory of good and evil is the heart of man. In the event, Paul emerges as a better diagnostician of our human state and prospects than the sky-blue optimists of the last century who, intoxicated by the doctrine of evolution, believed man was marching irresistibly to perfection."

Those who wish theology in modern terms will find it in this Commentary of Dr. Hunter's: "Wilson of the Antarctic understood Paul when he wrote, 'This I know is God's truth, that pain and trouble and trials and sorrows and disappointments are either one thing or another. To all men who love God they are love tokens from Him. To all who do not love God and do not want to love him, they are merely a nuisance.'"

Or, "'The Gospel' as the Coloured man is reported to have said, 'has two sides—a believing side and a behaving side.' If the moralist said in effect, 'Do these, and you will live,' Paul says rather, 'Live, and do these.' The ethic is the divine imperative based on the divine indicative, and it says, 'Therefore you must love one another.'"

In dealing with the word *agape* the comment is: "'Charity,' which once served as a translation, has come down in the world of words. 'Love' is better, though even it carries erotic and sentimental associations, covering as it does nowadays almost 'everything from Hollywood to heaven.' If we keep it as a translation, let us remember that *agape* is essentially 'self-forgiving love' (in contrast to *eros* which is 'desire') and that 'caring' is often our best English equivalent."

One could quote many other good things from this small arresting book, but one can only get the full benefit of it by reading it *in toto*.

P.M.S.

J.S.S.

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The Siege Perilous, by S.H. Hooke, (S.C.M. Press. 264 pp. Price 21s.)

In the introduction to this book Professor Hooke tells how, when he was appointed to the position of Samuel Davidson Professor of Old Testament Studies at London University, he set before himself the task of "building a bridge between the three disciplines of Anthropology, Archaeology and Biblical Studies." He held the chair for twelve years up to his retirement. He has now gathered together some of the papers which he read to various societies and they are published in this volume.

Perhaps the best example of his approach is found in his essay on "Some Parallels with the Gilgamesh Story." In this essay he analyses some episodes in the Epic of Gilgamesh which belongs to Sumerian times in Mesopotamia, some incidents in the Hebrew saga of Elijah and some beliefs of the inhabitants of some Melanesian islands concerning the journey of the dead to the place of departed spirits. About nine points of correspondence are found among the three groups of stories and the writer points out that these points are the basic elements that seemed to satisfy the religious needs of people as widely separated across the centuries and across the earth as the Mesopotamians and the Melanesians.

Inevitably, he has to find traces of the past in Christianity and finds them in such ideas as substitution-death, in phrases like "the sheep and the goats" and in words like "the corner-stone." (Incidentally, in connection with the corner-stone, no consideration seems to have been given to the thought that the stone may be the key-stone at the top of a semi-circular arch). The life and death of Jesus Christ is considered in the light of the similarities in myth, ritual and history found in the religions of the Middle East. The writer is careful not to over-emphasize the similarities and ignore the differences, and avoids the suggestion that the Christian interpretation of the death of Jesus takes its origin in these ideas of myth and ritual, thereby reducing Jesus to the level of a Levantine saviour-god. To use his own phrase, "such fancies are only a confession of ignorance." The book closes with an essay on "What is Christianity?" of which the text may be said to be Hebrews 1:1 which he quotes as "God, who in many parts and in many ways spoke in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, has in these last days spoken to us in a Son." He concludes with the statement that any account of the relations between man and God which does not affirm the total act of God in Christ, meeting man's need, triumphing over the power of evil, and bringing eternal life in the knowledge of the only true God and Jesus Christ whom he has sent, falls short of Christianity.

We trust that this book will be read by every anthropologist and archaeologist in the first place, and that students

of the Bible will find much in it to stimulate thought and study.

G. OWEN LLOYD.

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Advance in Africa, by I. C. Jackson; (OUP; 7/6; pp. 110 illustrated).

Advance in Africa packs into a few very readable pages a great deal of experience of Community Development. Mr. Jackson conveys a sense of dedicated enthusiasm, but never lets his feelings run ahead of his ability to analyse his experience and the problems there met.

The title is perhaps unfortunate, because it suggests a wider field than is actually dealt with. The author himself is careful not to mislead. He points out the uniqueness of many features in the district of Eastern Nigeria with which he mainly deals.

A Community Development project depends for success upon the patience to wait for the exact moment when leadership can tip the balance in favour of beneficial change. For this success to last a larger organisational framework is needed into which to fit whatever has been achieved by self-help—whether it be the building of a road and the construction of a maternity centre to be taken over by a local government, or the building of a school to be taken over by a mission education authority. The enthusiasm that is evoked by a community project is by its very nature subject to decay.

The author, while himself under a bureaucratic (though apparently enlightened machine) urges local government staff members to see their work not as justified merely by the fact of its existence, but by its being an instrument of change and development. He states with precision the problem of agriculture that seems Africa-wide: the experts, and many others now, know what to do about the land, but how are they to get the people to do it? Those who have had the good fortune to attend one of the three-week courses run by Mr. Jackson will have had opportunity to go a long way towards learning the answer, not simply intellectually, but by the way in which the courses are run. This small book will repay study by all who try to work along with as well as for the people of Africa.

J.S.S.

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Books received:

Christian Essays in Psychiatry, Edited by Philip Mairet (S.C.M. Press, 15/-).

Christian Hymns, by Kenneth L. Parry (S.C.M. Press: 8/6).

Publicans and Sinners, by H. G. G. Herklots (S.C.M. Press: 8/6).

The Early Church, by Oscar Cullmann (S.C.M. Press: 25/-).